

Message Text

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PAGE 01 ABIDJA 04659 01 OF 02 092222Z
ACTION AF-10

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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ABIDJAN 4659

ADDIS PASS DJIBOUTI

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, XA, FR, US
SUBJECT: ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE'S CONVERSATION ON AFRICA
WITH THE FRENCH

1. SUMMARY: IN A RELAXED AND FRANK DISCUSSION WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE, GUY GEORGY, CHIEF OF THE QUAI'S AFRICAN DEPARTMENT, DESCRIBED FRENCH POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA AND ASKED FOR CLARIFICATION ABOUT US POLICY. HE STRONGLY EMPHASIZED THE DESIRABILITY OF CLOSER FRANCO-AMERICAN CONSULTATIONS AND COORDINATION OF COOPERATION EFFORTS. HE MADE SPECIFIC OBSERVATIONS ON ZAIRE, THE HORN AND THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING HOUR AND A HALF CONVERSATION WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE ON MAY 7, QUAI DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AND MALAGASY AFFAIRS GUY GEORGY MADE A NUMBER OF INTERESTING POINTS. DEPUTY DIRECTOR
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PAGE 02 ABIDJA 04659 01 OF 02 092222Z

HAREL AND EMBOFF WERE ALSO PRESENT. THE ESSENCE OF THE DISCUSSIONS, MINUS GEORGY'S PHILOSOPHICAL DIGRESSIONS AND SCHAUFLE'S STATEMENTS OF STANDARD US POSITIONS, FOLLOWS:

3. FRENCH POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA: GEORGY DESCRIBED AFRICANS AS BEING ATTRACTED BY CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF THE "CAPITALIST" SYSTEM AND REPELLED BY OTHERS. THEY HAVE THE SAME AMBIVALENT

REACTION TO THE "SOCIALIST" SYSTEM, ALSO IMPORTED. NOT YET HAVING FOUND A SYSTEM WHICH MEETS THEIR OWN NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS, THE AFRICANS ARE EXPERIMENTING TO FIND A MIDDLE WAY. A CARDINAL RULE OF FRENCH POLICY, THEREFORE, IS TO AVOID TRYING TO IMPOSE ANY SYSTEM BUT TO WORK WITH ALL STATES, SYSTEM NOTWITHSTANDING.

4. SECONDLY, FRANCE FEELS THAT THE FRAGILE AFRICAN EQUILIBRIUM REQUIRES THE PRESERVATION OF CURRENT BORDERS. THE SLOWLY DEVELOPING NATION-STATES OF THE CONTINENT WOULD QUICKLY SUCCUMB TO DISORDER IF NATIONAL BOUNDARIES ARE PUT INTO QUESTION. THUS A FURTHER ARGUMENT FOR FRANCE TO SUPPORT ALL STATES WITHIN THEIR CURRENT FRONTIERS TO PREVENT AFRICAN DISINTEGRATION.

5. FINALLY, EUROPE (FRANCE) NEEDS AFRICAN RAW MATERIALS WHILE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT REQUIRES TECHNICAL KNOW-HOW. FRENCH POLICY, THEREFORE, STRIVES TO CREATE THE BEST ATMOSPHERE AND INSTITUTIONS FOR FOSTERING THIS VITAL EXCHANGE. COOPERATION IS THE ONLY WAY TO ACHIEVE THIS AND THE FRENCH EFFORT IS DIRECTED TO FINDING THE RIGHT BONDS AND INSTITUTIONS TO MAKE COOPERATION EFFECTIVE. INCREASINGLY, THE FRENCH BELIEVE THAT MULTILATERAL EFFORTS, EXEMPLIFIED BY THE FRANCO-AFRICAN SUMMIT DEVICE, AND GREATER COORDINATION AMONG DONORS, ILLUSTRATED BY THE CLUB DES AMIS DU SAHEL, ARE ESSENTIAL FOR INSURING TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY AND ACCESS TO RAW MATERIALS. CURRENT UNCOORDINATED COOPERATION CANNOT ACHIEVE THESE ENDS.

6. FRENCH CONFUSION ABOUT US AFRICAN POLICY: GEORGY BEGAN THE DISCUSSION BY ASKING WHAT THE US REALLY WANTED TO DO IN AFRICA AND SEVERAL TIMES RETURNED TO THE THEME THAT SEEMINGLY CONTRADIC-

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PAGE 03 ABIDJA 04659 01 OF 02 092222Z

TORY STATEMENTS BY VARIOUS US OFFICIALS HAVE LED TO GREAT CONFUSION ABOUT US POLICY. HE CITED, ON THE ONE HAND, AN APPARENT AMERICAN ZEAL FOR INTERNATIONALIZING SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS WHICH, SOUTH AFRICA EXCLUDED, ARE BASICALLY MATTERS OF DECOLONIZATION THAT WERE BADLY HANDLED BY THE UK (ZIMBABWE) AND SOUTH AFRICA (NAMIBIA). ON THE OTHER HAND, HE SAID, THE US SEEMS VERY RESERVED ON ZAIRE. THE AMERICANS APPEAR TO BE MOVED BY "SENTIMENT," PERHAPS IN THE MISTAKEN BELIEF THAT MOBUTU IS SOMEHOW MORE CORRUPT AND LESS RESPECTFUL OF HUMAN RIGHTS THAN OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS. GEORGY WONDERED WHETHER THE US MIGHT EVEN PREFER A DISINTEGRATED ZAIRE TO MOBUTU. THE US ATTITUDE WEIGHS HEAVILY ON AFRICA.

7. SCHAUFLE NOTED THAT BOTH THE ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA QUESTIONS HAD LONG BEEN INTERNATIONALIZED, IN FACT, AND THAT EVERYONE HAS TO ACCEPT THAT SITUATION. HE POINTED OUT HIS LONG EXPERIENCE WITH ZAIRE HAD CONVINCED HIM OF THE ESSENTIALLY CENTRIFUGAL NATURE OF ZAIRIAN POLITICAL DYNAMICS AND AGREED THAT FRAGMENTATION OF ZAIRE WOULD BE HIGHLY DESTABILIZING IN THE REGION. IT IS SOMETIMES DIFFICULT TO MAKE AMERICANS SEE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ZAIRE AND

MOBUTU BOTH FOR SENTIMENTAL AND OTHER REASONS, INCLUDING THE CURRENT MOOD OF CONGRESS AND THE PUBLIC. THERE IS A TENDENCY TO SEE THINGS TOO SIMPLISTICALLY. CORRUPTION AND HUMAN RIGHTS ARE IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS IN AMERICAN POLICY AND ALL AFRICAN COUNTRIES HAVE PROBLEMS IN THESE AREAS. THUS THE CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS ZAIRE REFLECTS A REACTION AGAINST BOTH GENERAL CONDITIONS IN AFRICA AND MOBUTU PERSONALLY. PERHAPS THIS IS A TRANSITORY PHENOMENON. IN THE END THERE PROBABLY WILL BE FEW CHANGES IN AMERICAN POLICY ALTHOUGH WE WILL BE MORE ACTIVE. WE SHALL CONTINUE, OF COURSE, TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH OUR EUROPEAN FRIENDS.

8. FRANCO-AMERICAN COORDINATION: REVERTING TO HIS EARLIER REMARKS ON THE ORGANIZATION OF COOPERATION, GEORGY MADE A SURPRISINGLY STRONG PITCH FOR GREATLY INCREASED INTERNATIONAL COORDINATION. SPECIFICALLY, HE THOUGHT FRANCO-AMERICAN CONSULTATIONS AT THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY LEVEL SHOULD BE REVIVED AND

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 ABIDJA 04659 01 OF 02 092222Z

INTENSIFIED. DISCUSSION OF COOPERATION PROJECTS BASED ON EACH SIDE'S ANALYSIS OF A SPECIFIC SITUATION, AS WELL AS CONTINENT-WIDE COORDINATION, WOULD BE VALUABLE. PROBLEMS COULD BE DEFINED AND ACTION DIVIDED TO AVOID WASTEFUL COMPETITION.

9. SCHAUFELLE CONCURRED FULLY IN THE DESIRABILITY OF INCREASED COORDINATION. HE NOTED THE USEFUL EXAMPLE OF THE SAHEL AND SUGGESTED THAT REGIONAL, RATHER THAN CONTINENTAL COORDINATION SHOULD BE THE GOAL, A SENTIMENT IN WHICH GEORGY CONCURRED.

10. ZAIRE: GEORGY STRESSED THAT FRENCH INTERVENTION IN ZAIRE WAS FULLY IN LINE WITH THE POLICY OUTLINED ABOVE. IT WAS INTENDED TO PREVENT A DESTABILIZED ZAIRE, WHICH WOULD BE DANGEROUS FOR ALL OF CENTRAL AFRICA, AND TO AVOID THE CHAOS WHICH CHANGING ZAIRE'S BORDERS WOULD CREATE. IT ALSO WAS DESIGNED TO REASSURE FRANCE'S AFRICAN FRIENDS WHO SINCE ANGOLA HAVE BEEN WORRIED THAT THE WEST WOULD DO NOTHING TO HELP THEM. THE GREAT SUCCESS OF THE FRANCO-AFRICAN SUMMIT AT DAKAR, WHERE NOT EVEN BENIN CRITICIZED THE FRENCH INTERVENTION, WAS DUE TO THIS DEMONSTRATION THAT THE AFRICANS ARE NOT LACKING FOR AID AND ASSISTANCE.

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PAGE 01 ABIDJA 04659 02 OF 02 092234Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ABIDJAN 4659

ADDIS PASS DJIBOUTI

11. GEORGY THOUGHT THE IMMEDIATE DANGER IN ZAIRE WAS THAT MOBUTU WOULD ACT AGAINST ANGOLA. AS HE HAD TOLD THE BELGIANS DURING BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS ON MAY 6, EVERYONE SHOULD URGE HIM TO MODERATION. SCHAUFLE SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD ALSO BE ADVISABLE TO WARN MOBUTU ABOUT THE ADVERSE EFFECTS OF REPRISALS AGAINST LUNDAS OR OTHERS AS FAZ AND MOROCCANS RETAKE TERRITORY IN SHABA.

12. ACCORDING TO GEORGY, THE BELGIANS INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO GIVE ADDITIONAL MILITARY AID. THEY LAMENTED THAT MOST OF THE MEN PREVIOUSLY TRAINED HAD LEFT THE MILITARY FOR OTHER JOBS BUT HOPE, WITH FRENCH ASSISTANCE, NOW TO CREATE THE SEMBLANCE OF AN ARMY. SPECIFICALLY, THE BELGIANS WILL TRAIN NON-COMS WHILE THE FRENCH WILL TRAIN A PARACHUTE BATTALION. THE BELGIANS ALSO WILL HELP FORM TECHNICAL PERSONNEL FOR ADMINISTRATION.

13. THE HORN: NOTING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE US POSITION IN
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PAGE 02 ABIDJA 04659 02 OF 02 092234Z

ETHIOPIA, GEORGY EXPRESSED INCOMPREHENSION THAT THE AMERICANS "LEFT AS THEY DID." SCHAUFLE EXPLAINED THAT THE DETERIORATION WAS BASED ON MANY THINGS. WE HAD TRIED TO MAINTAIN HEALTHY RELATIONS, INCLUDING CONTINUING OUR ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE. BUT THE ETHIOPIAN REACTION WAS INCREASINGLY NEGATIVE AND ITS ATTITUDE MORE AND MORE HOSTILE. AT THE SAME TIME, OUR RELATIONS WITH SOMALIA HAD NOW RELAXED SOMEWHAT. AS FOR CONGRESS, IT BECAME MORE CRITICAL OF ETHIOPIA'S VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS THAN OF ZAIRE'S. HAD ETHIOPIA NOT TAKEN THE FIRST STEP, US ASSISTANCE PROBABLY COULD NOT HAVE CONTINUED.

14. WE ARE READY TO TALK WITH THE SOMALIS, SCHAUFEELE CONTINUED, BUT OUR AMBASSADOR HAS WAITED TWO WEEKS TO SEE SIAD, DESPITE SOMALI APPROACHES OUTSIDE MOGADISCIO. WE ARE TALKING WITH THE SAUDIS AND SUDANESE ABOUT SOMALIA, BUT SHOULD NOT GO TOO FAST.

15. GEORGY AGREED, NOTING THAT THERE ARE LIMITS WITH SOMALIA. SOVIET MILITARY AID HAS NOT MET SOMALIA-S DIRE DEVELOPMENT NEEDS INCLUDING SETTTLING THE NOMADS. SOVIET ARMS COST MONEY, TOO, AND THE LARGE (7000) SOVIET MILITARY PRESENCE IS RESENTED. NONETHELESS, THE SOMALIS HAVE TOLD THE FRENCH THAT WHILE THEY ARE TAKING THEIR DISTANCE FROM THE SOVIETS, THEY DO NOT INTEND TO BREAK WITH THEM AND TO FLY INTO US ARMS. WHILE SAUDI MONEY MAY HELP, GEORGY SAID, SOMALIA STILL NEEDS AND IS ENGAGED WITH THE SOVIETS MILITARILY.

16. TURNING TO DJIBOUTI SCHAUFEELE SAID HIS PERSONAL IMPRESSION WAS THAT, OVER THE SHORT RUN (6-9 MONTHS), MATTERS WOULD REMAIN STABLE THERE. GEORGY AGREED. NOTING THAT THE MLD HAD JUST RALLIED TO THE HASSEN GOULED LIST, GEORGY FELT THAT THE DJIBOUTI ELECTIONS WOULD GO CALMLY. A NEW GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE FORMED IN TWO WEEKS AND HE THOUGHT INDEPENDENCE WOULD COME ON JUNE 27 WITHOUT ETHIOPIAN OR SOMALI INTERFERENCE. GIVEN THEIR ANTAGONISM, HOWEVER, LONG RANGE PREDICTIONS ARE HAZARDOUS AND ONE DAY DJIBOUTI MIGHT SERVE AS A PRETEXT FOR CONFLICT.

17. WHILE UNCERTAIN THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT WOULD APPROVE
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PAGE 03 ABIDJA 04659 02 OF 02 092234Z

SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT, GEORGY THOUGHT SOME 3000 TO 3500 FRENCH SECURITY FORCES (MILITARY AND GENDARMERIE) WOULD REMAIN UNDER THE SERIES OF BILATERAL ACCORDS EXPECTED TO BE SIGNED. ABOUT AN EQUAL NUMBER OF DJIBOUTIANS, MUSTERED OUT OF FRENCH AND INTEGRATED INTO THE NEW NATIONAL FORCES, ALSO WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR SECURITY PURPOSES.

18. GEORGY NOTED THAT THE ETHIOPIAN OFFICIALS WITH WHOM SECSTATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TAITTINGER AND HE HAD TALKED ON MAY 3 REPEATEDLY REFERRED TO "THE MARCH" AND SAID THEY WERE "READY TO DO ANYTHING" TO PREVENT ERITREA'S SECESSION. HE FEARED THAT THE POPULATION NOW BEING ARMED AND TRAINED IN ADDIS WOULD BE UNLEASHED TO SLAUGHTER THE DISSIDENT ERITREANS. TO THE QUESTION WHETHER THE SOVIETS WOULD WISH TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH SUCH A MOVE, GEORGY REITERATED HIS AMAZEMENT AT THE WARM RECEPTION MENGISTU RECEIVED IN MOSCOW AT A MOMENT WHEN 1000 STUDENTS WERE BEING SHOT DOWN IN ADDIS.

19. MAPUTO CONFERENCE: GEORGY INDICATED THAT THE FRENCH FAVOR AN OPENING STATEMENT GIVING THE WESTERN POSITION ON ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA BUT BELIEVE THAT WESTERN PARTICIPATION IN NEGOTIATIONS ON A RESOLUTION WOULD BE POINTLESS. HENCE, THE FRENCH WILL BE

MORE OBSERVERS THAN PARTICIPANTS AT THE CONFERENCE.

20. THE CONVERSATION ENDED WITH COMMON AGREEMENT THAT FRANCO-AMERICAN BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS ON AFRICA SHOULD BE DEEPENED. SCHAUFLE SUGGESTED WE SHOULD TRY TO SCHEDULE LAST YEAR'S POSTPONED BILATERALS. GEORGY AGREED AND SAID HE WAS WILLING TO COME TO WASHINGTON AT VERY SHORT NOTICE.

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